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IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS FROM THE EARLY CHURCH

Heft 2, of the fifth volume of the third series of Harnack and Schmidt's *Texte und Untersuchungen*,¹ is in every way a worthy addition to that series. Dr. Karapet Ter-Mëkërttschian is already known to scholars as the discoverer and editor of the treatise of Irenaeus *ad Marcianum*, which is lost in the original Greek and of which no Latin version exists. He discovered both it and the two last books of the larger work *Adversus Haereses* in December, 1904, among the manuscripts preserved in the Church of the Theotokos at Eriwan. How long these manuscripts had been in this church he does not tell us; when in the years 1888 and 1890 I visited it, and inquired if there were any codices there, I was shown nothing except a MS copy of the Gospels.

In his *Vorwort* the editor examines afresh the question of the age of this version of Irenaeus. The manuscript itself is of Cilician origin and was written at the request of the archbishop John, a brother of King Hethum. This John was ordained bishop in 1259 and died in 1289; but the book itself is already cited by Stephanus, a prelate of Siunik in the eighth century; and two of the citations made by him recur in a dogmatic treatise ascribed to an Armenian Catholicos Sahak, who was probably the patriarch of that name from 678 to about 700. On these grounds the editor and discoverer ascribe the version to the century 650-750, when the monophysite controversy was raging in Armenia, and the doctors of the Armenian church may have seen in Irenaeus' work a useful weapon against the partisans of the council of Chalcedon. If, however, we compare this version of Irenaeus with the version of Philo made before the middle of the fifth century we see that they are both from the same hand. The diction of the Irenaeus is thoroughly classic and it exhibits the same translatorial devices and idiosyncrasies as the Philo. Above all we meet with the same paraphrastic combinations of several Armenian words to express a simple Greek compound verb or substantive. Of such uses the following are examples:

(The triple numbers refer to volume, page and line of Cohn and Wendland's edition: R.H. signifies the fragments collected by Rendel Harris; Prov., the fragments of the *De Providentia* in Eusebius; Mangey, Mangey's edition, Vol. II, page and line.)

¹*Irenaeus gegen die Häretiker*, Buch IV u. V in armenischer Version entdeckt von Lic. Dr. Karapet ter-Mëkërttschian z.z. Bischof in Tauris (Persien). Herausgegeben von Lic. Dr. Erwand Ter-Minassiantz. Leipzig: Heinrichs, 1910. 264 pages. M. 10.

Adv. Haer. iv. 53. 1, *Κενούς ὄντας*=*ibrou zi thaphura en* the same use of *ibrou zi* to render the Greek Participle used causally is common in the Philo version, e.g., i. 73. 8, 4. 45. 11, 4. 278. 13, 4. 280. 3, Prov. 82, R.H. 66.

Ibid., τὸ ἴδιον λυσιτελής=—*ziureantz shah augtin*. *Iur* renders ἴδιος in Prov. 81, 4. 24. 24, 4. 51. 1, etc.

The phrase *Shah augti* is used to render the πορισμός in Mangey 481.38, Prov. 62. *Augut* renders λυσιτελής R.H. 52, 54.

Ibid., διὰ μικρὰς καὶ τυχοῦσας αἰτίας=*wasn phogr ev duznaqeaty paidjaratz*. So Philo 4. 302. 24: μικρῶν καὶ τῶν τυχόντων=*phoquns ev kam duznaqeaty*: 5. 166. 18 οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος=*otch i duznaqsoy*.

Ibid., τέμνοντας=*bajanen*. So Philo R.H. 14, 5. 81. 1.

Ibid., διαιροῦντες=*hat koloren*. This word renders κατακόπτοντας (ἁρμονίαν) R.H. 29.

Ibid., κατώρθωσις=*Ulluthiun*. So Philo 4. 291. 20.

Ibid., ὁλόκηρος=*amboidsch*. So Philo 4. 11. 21, 4. 33. 20 and passim.

iv. 60. 1. ἀποβαλεῖν=*i batz hanel ėnkenui*. The same four words are combined to render ἐλπίδα ἀφηρημένον in 4. 3. 9. προῦβάλετο in 4. 24. 15 is rendered *i durs ėhan ėnkĕtz*, and without *hanel* the phrase renders ἐκβάλλειν, ἀπορρίπτειν, ἀποβάλλειν in 1. 75. 1, R.H. 51, 1. 108. 25.

Ibid., τοὺς εὐνομουμένους=*or bari aurinauq khalaluthean warin*, i.e., "those who are well guided by laws of peace." The very same cumbrous equivalent renders ἡυνομήθησαν in Philo 4. 2. 18, viz., *Khalal aurinauq waretzan*. This is a palmary example.

Ibid., ἐπιμονῆς=*tevoluthean*. So Philo 1. 74. 21.

Ibid., καταϊτῶνται=*ĕstgtans ambastanutheans ėndunin*. αἰτιᾶται is similarly rendered in 4. 288. 15, and *ĕstgtanem* renders αἰτῶμαι in Prov. 62 and 111, 4. 41. 4, 4. 30. 2.

Ibid., ἀμέλειαν=*plerg helgutheann anphuthuthean*. So *plergutheamb helgaloy* renders ὑπερθέσσειν in 4. 288. 5, and *anphuthuthiun* renders ἀμέλεια in Mangey 480. 44.

iv. 62, ὑστερεῖσθαι=*pakas gol ev nuaz*. The same phrase renders ἐπιλείπειν in 5. 21. 3, 4. 35. 17.

iv. 63. 1, εὐρυθμα=*yarmaravor ev patkanavor*. These two words are constantly conjoined in Philo to express the idea of harmony, e.g., 4. 23. 17, 1. 103. 19, 1. 96. 25, R.H. 36.

Ibid., ἀφθόνως=*arantz nakhantsu yatchalanatz*. So φθόνος is rendered *nakhants yatchalman* in 5. 151. 1 and 5. 77. 14.

iv. 63. 2, παραμονή=*yaruthiun ev mshtĕndschen avoruthiun*. The same phrase is met with in parts of Philo lost in Greek. This use of *yaruthiun* as the great Lexicon of the Mekhitarists notes is common in the Armenian Philo, but rare elsewhere. Its ordinary sense is "uprising" or "resurrection."

This line of argument is too technical to be further pursued in a review notice; but the above examples prove that the version before

us is as old as the year 450; that it was made from Greek and not from Syriac is also certain from the manner in which Greek compounds and idioms are rendered bit by bit and part by part.

The Armenian compares very well for accuracy with the Latin version. Sometimes it supports the Latin against the Greek text where John of Damascus and other excerptors have preserved the latter for us, sometimes the Greek against the Latin; thus in iv. 63. 1 it evidences the words *καὶ ἐγκατάσκειν* which the Latin omits, and of which Hervey in his note remarks that they are Stieren's emendation, but a gloss. Their presence in the Armenian shows that they are nothing of the kind. It is reassuring to find that it almost everywhere agrees with the Latin text word for word, so proving that the latter was a faithful version of the lost Greek text. And as it is so faithful in these two last books of the *Adversus haereses*, we may rely on its fidelity in the first three books where we have not a rival Armenian text by which to control it. Occasionally we get a glimpse of another reading than the Latin text has rendered. Thus in iv. 1. 1 instead of *in erroris procedere profundum* one can conjecture *in err. προσπίπτειν prof.* Here one of the Latin MSS reads *procidere*. Just below instead of *nobis meliores* the Armenian involves *nobis inimiciores*. Then it adds *tibi* with the Claremont MS, and a little farther on it witnesses to *his* which the same MS omits. Toward the end of the same section it confirms Grabe's supposition that the Greek word *ἀντόπται* and not *ἐπίσκοποι* (as Pearson imagined) underlies the Latin word *speculatores*. A few corruptions are revealed in the Latin. Thus in the passage v. 36: *Dominus docuit mixtionem calicis novam in regno cum discipulis habiturum se pollicitus*, instead of *habiturum* we should read *bibiturum*.

After the words just cited and almost at the end of Irenaeus' work occurs the only addition which the Armenian makes to the text. I translate these additional words:

And again when he says: There shall come days when the dead who are in the tombs shall hear the voice of the Son of Man and shall arise; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done ill, unto the resurrection of judgment (John 5:28, 29). He declares that the first to rise are the doers of good actions, who shall go to rest. Next those shall rise who are to be judged. As the book of Genesis has it, the sixth day is the close of this age, meaning the six thousand years, and after that ensues the seventh day of rest, about which David says: This is my rest, the just enter into it: meaning the seventh millennium of the kingdom of the just, in which they shall precede (or? advance) in the discipline of incorruption of a renewed world who in this kept watch.

The works of Irenaeus are important for the reconstitution of the New Testament text as it stood in the second half of the second century; but a certain doubt has always hung over the Latin text, because a Latin translator was so likely to substitute for readings which were unfamiliar to him others taken out of his current Latin text. But after a careful comparison (executed for Professor Sanday) of all the New Testament texts as read in the Armenian with those of the Latin version, I can affirm that in the latter we have an extremely accurate and faithful reflection of Irenaeus' citations; for the Armenian rarely differs from the Latin. In the few cases in which it does differ, it usually imparts a more western coloring to the texts cited.

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Professor Gwynn has furnished an excellent edition of some highly important biblical texts.¹ The book is in two parts, each consisting of an introduction, the Syriac texts, the reconstructed Greek, supplemental notes, and an index.

Part I deals with the New Testament. It consists of a new and thoroughly revised edition of the four shorter Catholic Epistles, II Peter, II and III John, and Jude, in the recension which is commonly printed in editions of the Syriac New Testament. These four epistles, as is well known, were not included in the Peshitta, and the version just mentioned has been of uncertain origin. Gwynn shows that it formed a part of the Philoxenian recension of the year 508 A.D. After this is given the pericope concerning the Woman taken in Adultery, John 7:53—8:12, in two distinct recensions; the one, in a form otherwise unknown, belonging to the sixth century, and the other to the seventh (presumably a part of the work of Paul of Tella). In all cases we are given very full and exact information regarding the manuscripts and the history of the versions.

Part II contains Old Testament texts, namely, extracts from the Syro-Hexaplar version of Genesis, Leviticus, I and II Chronicles, and Nehemiah. The passage from Genesis (26:26—31) comes from a single leaf of vellum preserved in the British Museum, and partially fills the hitherto existing gap in the version of Genesis made by Paul of Tella.

¹*Remnants of the Later Syriac Versions of the Bible*. Edited, with Introductions, Notes, and Reconstructed Greek Text, by John Gwynn, D.D., D.C.L., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin. London: Williams & Norgate, 1909. lxxii+161; xxiii+78 pages. 21 shillings.

The Leviticus passage (26:42-46), derived from a lectionary manuscript, is the only known portion of the Syro-Hexaplar version of this biblical book. The extracts from Chronicles and Nehemiah are edited from the very important catena, Brit. Mus. Add. 12,168. In I Chron. we have 1:1-4, 17, 24-28, 34; 2:1-17; 3:1-20; 6:1-49; 23:14-17. In II Chron., 26:16-21; 29:30-36; 30:1-5, 13-20; 32:2-4, 33; 33:1-16; 35:20-25. In Neh., 1:1-4; 2:1-8; 4:7-9, 16-22; 6:15, 16; 8:1-18; 9:1-3. In this part also, the introduction and notes contain much valuable material. The whole publication is one which students of the biblical versions cannot afford to neglect.

On the first page of the General Preface, the editor says in regard to the passages from Chronicles and Nehemiah: "None of these extracts—in fact, no portion of the Syro-Hexaplar text of these Books—has hitherto been published." The same thing is said on the general title-page, and also on pp. ii, ix, xv, and elsewhere. But the whole of the catena from Nehemiah was published, with an introduction, in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* for October, 1906; not, indeed with the valuable apparatus which Gwynn gives us, and yet in a form which certainly deserved recognition. It is a pity, though perhaps not surprising, that American publications should so often be overlooked on the other side of the Atlantic. Thus, Cheikho has recently published "for the first time" Abu Zaid's *Kitāb al-Maṭar*, and Hilgenfeld the Brit. Mus. *Letters of Simeon the Stylite*, also "for the first time," although both appeared in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* more than a decade ago.

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RECENT INTERPRETATIONS OF EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

In two good-sized volumes Professor H. M. Gwatkin, of the University of Cambridge, follows his earlier work, *Selections from Early Writers Illustrative of Church History to the Time of Constantine*, 1893, with a well-informed narrative of early church history covering the same period.¹ The scope of these volumes is much the same as that of the volume by Duchesne (*The Early History of the Christian Church from Its Foundation to the End of the Third Century*), which appeared in an English translation at almost the same time, though Professor Gwatkin's book is less

¹ *Early Church History to A.D. 313*. By Henry Melville Gwatkin. London: Macmillan, 1909. 2 vols.: Vol. I, xii+310; Vol. II, vi+376 pages. \$5.25.